

Message Text

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ACTION AF-18

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FM AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2681

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMCOSNUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, MZ

SUBJECT: PROGRESS OF MOZAMBIQUE POLITICAL GROUPS

REF: (A) LM 453; (B) LM 489; (C) LM 502 AND 507;

(D) LM 461 AND 481

1. SUMMARY: SINCE REF A SUBMITTED, NUMBER OF ACTIVE POLITICAL GROUPS IN MOZAMBIQUE HAS SOMEWHAT DIMINISHED, THOUGH MAIN DIVISIONS BETWEEN PRO- AND ANTI-FRELIMO, AND BLACK AND WHITE SPONSORSHIP, CONTINUE. GENERAL TREND SEEMS TO BE TOWARDS POLARIZATION BETWEEN DEMOCRAT-FRELIMO ALLIANCE ON ONE HAND AND GROUPS SEEKING SOME NON-FRELIMO ALTERNATIVE ON OTHER, WITH ATTITUDE ON PROPOSED REFERENDUM A KEY POINT OF DIFFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

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2. DEMOCRATS OF MOZAMBIQUE: THIS "NON-PARTY" CONTINUES TO DOMINATE PRESS AND RADIO, AND PRESUMABLY HOPES TO BE A PRIMARY INFLUENCE ON NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT NOW BEING FORMED. ITS GROWING CONTROL OF PRESS HAS RECENTLY BEEN REPORTED (REF B). ITS POLITICAL PROGRAM REMAINS UNABASHEDLY PRO-FRELIMO AND INCREASINGLY MARXIST, AND ITS EXPRESSIONS OF DISDAIN FOR ALL OPPOSING VIEWS CONTINUE UNABATED. DEMOCRATS PUBLISH ALMOST DAILY OFFICIAL STATEMENTS (FOLHAS INFORMATIVAS), COMMENTING ON NEWS, DENOUNCING ALLEGED REACTIONARIES, CALLING FOR FURTHER PURGES OF ADMINISTRATION, ETC.

3. WHILE DEMOCRATS HAVE NOT PRONOUNCED FORMALLY ON REFERENDUM AS SUCH, PERHAPS BECAUSE THEY DO NOT WISH EMBARRASS NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, THEIR SUPPORT OF FRELIMO'S ANTI-REFERENDUM POSITION SEEMS CLEAR, AND "FOLHA" NUMBER 28 OF JUNE 17 QUOTED APPROVINGLY FROM METROPOLITAN MAOIST MONTHLY TEMPO E O MODO" TO EFFECT THAT REFERENDUM WOULD BE PETTY BOURGEOIS STRATEGY. WHITE ATTORNEY CARLOS ADRIANO RODRIGUES AND BLACK ATTORNEY DOMINGOS AROUCA, BOTH CLOSELY LINKED TO DEMOCRATS, HAVE ALSO COME OUT FIRMLY AGAINST ANY REFERENDUM, AS HAVE COLUMNISTS IN DEMOCRAT CONTROLLED PRESS. BASIC ARGUMENT IS THAT FRELIMO IS ACCEPTED REPRESENTATIVE OF PEOPLE, AND THEREFORE IT IS FOR FRELIMO, NOT PORTUGUESE, TO DECIDE ON MEANS OF DETERMINING MOZAMBIQUE'S FUTURE.

4. DEMOCRATS, OR AT LEAST PRO-DEMOCRAT PRESS, TEND TO REMAIN HIGHLY INTOLERANT OF OPPOSITION; TO A NUMBER OF PROMINENT NEWSPAPER COLUMNISTS, AT LEAST, DEMOCRACY IS INTERPRETED IN PURELY SOVIET TERMS (I.E., MULTIPLE PARTY SYSTEMS -- SUCH AS AMERICAN -- ARE BY DEFINITION FASCISTIC; "PEOPLES' GOVERNMENT" NEEDS ONLY ONE PARTY, ETC.). WHILE DEMOCRATS CONTINUE TO STRESS FRELIMO'S INSISTENCE ON MULTIRACIALISM, THEIR CONSTANT ATTACKS ON MOST PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS AS MERELY INSTRUMENTS OF WHITE REPRESSION OF BLACKS LEAVES IMPRESSION THAT NUMBER OF "GOOD" WHITE MOZAMBIANS ACCEPTABLE TO NEW ORDER MAY BE SMALL.

5. WHITE ANTI-FRELIMO GROUPS: FICO, THE FEDERALISTS (MFP), AND "CONVERGENCIA DEMOCRATICA" (CDM) REMAIN THE MAJOR WHITE-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ORIENTED ANTI-FRELIMO GROUPS. THEY CONTINUE TO ISSUE REGULAR COMMUNIQUE OUTLINING RATHER VAGUE PROGRAMS IN FAMILIAR TERMS, CALLING FOR REFERENDUM AND FREE ELECTIONS PROMISED BY SPINOLA, AND COMPLAINING ABOUT DEMOCRATS' INTOLERANCE AND PRO-FRELIMO ATTITUDES. FICO HAS CALLED MEETING OF EX-SOLDIERS IN LOURENCO MARQUES FOR JUNE 27, AND FEDERALIST HEAD VASCO CARDIGA HAS ANNOUNCED TRIP TO THE NORTH TO SEEK SUPPORT IN NAMPULA AND OTHER TOWNS. CDM SEEMS

TO BE MORE ACTIVE IN BEIRA -- IF MANIFESTO OUTPUT IS A GUIDE -- THAN IN LOURENCO MARQUES. THESE GROUPS CLING TO ASSURANCES OF DEMOCRACY AND FREE ELECTIONS GIVEN BY SPINOLA, TO HOPES OF ANTI-FRELIMO SENTIMENT AMONG BLACKS IN NORTH, AND TO WHAT THEY SEE AS ESSENTIAL DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE OF THEIR CAUSE. BUT THEY FEAR FOR FUTURE, AND RESENT BEING WRITTEN OFF AS FASCIST REACTIONARIES BY PRESS, AND RESULTING FRUSTRATION AMONG THEIR CLIENTELE IS PROBABLY BEHIND RECENT INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST DEMOCRATS (REF C).

6. GUMO. FOLLOWING RECIPROCAL EXPULSION BY EACH OTHER OF PRESIDENT MAXIMO DIAS AND VICE PRESIDENT JOANA SIMIAO (REF D), DIAS REMAINS HEAD OF RUMP GUMO CONSISTING MOSTLY OF HIMSELF. HE HAS ABANDONED DEMANDS FOR REFERENDUM, AND PUBLISHED LONG NEWSPAPER ARTICLE DISPUTING WITH NEW PROVINCIAL SECRETARY OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATIONS AND TOURISM, WILLEM POTT, AS TO WHO IS BETTER "AFRICAN". SIMIAO HAS GONE NORTH AND FOUNDED NEW ORGANIZATION, FRECOMO.

7. FRECOMO: JOANA SIMIAO HAS BEEN UP NORTH, ORGANIZING "HER" MACUAS FOR PROMISED JULY CONGRESS OF PEOPLES, AND HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH KAVANDAME'S MACONDE-BASED UNIPOMO IN PORTO AMELIA. ABOUT JUNE 25 SHE AND HER EX-GUMO FOLLOWERS (ALMOST ALL WITH MOSLEM NAMES) ANNOUNCED FOUNDING, IN NAMPULA, OF THE MOZAMBIQUE COMMON FRONT (FRECOMO), DEDICATED TO MULTI-RACIAL DEMOCRACY AND A UN/OAU SUPERVISED REFERENDUM. COMMUNIQUE SAYS SHE WILL LEAD DELEGATION TO TALK UNITY WITH COREMO PRESIDENT GUMANE, EITHER IN BLANTYRE OR LUSAKA (SIC), AND INVITES FRELIMO TO JOIN TOO. LOCAL PRESS CONTINUES TO CRITICIZE SIMIAO, FOR EVERYTHING FROM TREASON TO BEING A WOMAN; IN LAST ANALYSIS, NOT BEING MALE MAY BE HER BIGGEST HANDICAP AMONG BOTH PORTUGUESE AND AFRICANS (CONGEN CONTACT WHO RECENTLY MADE RANDOM SAMPLING OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EDUCATED MACUA OPINION FOUND CONSIDERABLE ANTI-FRELIMO SENTIMENT, BUT EVEN GREATER OBJECTION TO SIMIAO).

8. COMMUNIST PARTY: ON JUNE 15, NOTICIAS ANNOUNCED THAT ONE ALVARO CLAUDIO WAS ABOUT TO FOUND THE MOZAMBIKAN COMMUNIST PARTY, AND WOULD BE INTERVIEWED THE FOLLOWING DAY. THE IDEA OF SUCH A PARTY WAS PROMPTLY DENOUNCED AS A REACTIONARY DIVERSIONIST PLOT BY THE MOZAMBIQUE WORKERS GROUP - GTM (WHICH HAS OTHERWISE NOT BEEN HEARD FROM RECENTLY), THE DEMOCRATS, AND THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE INTERVIEW WAS NOT FORTHCOMING AND MR. CLAUDIO HAS NOT BEEN HEARD FROM SINCE.

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9. MONA. MONA, THE ANTI-FRELIMO AFRICAN PARTY HEADQUARTERED IN NAMPULA, ON JUNE 10 SUGGESTED A UNITED FRONT WITH GUMO, FICO, AND THE DEMOCRATS (SIC) TO BE CALLED THE AFRICAN NATIONAL PARTY (PANA) TO DEAL "ON BASIS OF EQUALITY" WITH FRELIMO. SUBSEQUENTLY, MONA APPEALED FOR CALM, DEPLORED PLANS OF PORTUGUESE TO LEAVE MOZAMBIQUE, AND GUARANTEED IT HAD PLAN FOR SALVATION OF MOZAMBIQUE. PRO-DEMOCRAT PRESS PREDICTIBLY GREETED BOTH NOTIONS WITH SCORN, AND MONA HAS YET TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT CONSISTS OF MUCH MORE THAN ITS ONLY SPOKESMAN, DOMINGOS L. CARDOSO.

10. UNIPOMO: UNIPOMO CLAIMS THAT ITS LEADER, MACONDE CHIEF AND FRELIMO-DEFECTOR LAZARO KAVANDAME, ADDRESSED ENTHUSIASTIC CROWDS TALLING 41,400 IN MACONDE AREA OF CABO DELGADO DISTRICT DURING FIRST MONTH OF ITS EXISTENCE. ITS PROGRAM

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REMAINS VAGUE MIXTURE OF REFERENDUM, INDEPENDENCE AND MULTIRACIALISM.

11. OTHER GROUPS: CNAM HAS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN GUMO'S CONGRESS OF PEOPLES. DAMO SURFACED BRIEFLY JUNE 22 TO INSIST IT NOT A PARTY AS SUCH AND WAS HAPPY TO COLLABORATE WITH ALL SUPPORTERS OF ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT. UDAMO CONTINUES CALL FOR PEACE AND COOPERATION WITH OTHER GROUPS; IT ANNOUNCED (AND THEN APPARENTLY FORGOT) A CHANGE IN ITS NAME TO "SYMPATHIZERS OF FRELIMO". MOCONEMO HAS PUBLISHED ORGANIZATION CHARTS AND "LISTS OF PRINCIPLES", BUT HAS NOT DISPLAYED OTHER NEW ACTIVITY. MIMO, MODEMO, PESODUMO, AND PRUMO HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD FROM SINCE REF A SUBMITTED.

12. COREMO AND FUMO. DESPITE ANNOUNCEMENT IN LUSAKA THAT COREMO PROPOSED TO BEGIN OPEN, LEGAL POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN MOZAMBIQUE, ITS REPRESENTATIVES HAVE NOT SURFACED HERE. FUMO, FROM NAIROBI, HAS CLAIMED RECOGNITION AS LEGITIMATE PARTICIPANT ON MOZAMBIQUE POLITICAL SCENE, BUT WE HAVE SEEN NO REACTION OTHER THAN DENUNCIATION BY FRELIMO.

13. COMMENT: ON ONE SIDE OF INCREASINGLY POLARIZED POLITICAL SITUATION ARE DEMOCARTS, ENTRENCHED IN MEDIA AND PRESUMPTIVELY (THOUGH THIS AS YET UNPROVEN) IN NEW PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, PREACHING AN UNCOMPROMISING PRO-FRELIMO LINE AND AT LEAST TACITLY ACCEPTED AS ALLIES BY FRELIMO. THEIR PROGRAM AND METHODS ARE, WITHIN WHITE COMMUNITY, GREETED WITH ENTHUSIASM BY RADICALS AND MUCH OF IDEALISTIC YOUTH, WITH CONCERN BY OLD-FASHIONED LIBERALS, AND WITH CONSTERNATION BY CONSERVATIVES. ANTI-FRELIMO WHITES HAVE THREE ORGANIZATIONS CLAIMING TO SPEAK ON THEIR BEHALF. AFRICAN OPINION IS STILL MUCH HARDER TO GAUGE. EXCEPT FOR GUMO (SIMIAO BRANCH), MONA, AND UNIPOMO, MOST EXPRESSED AFRICAN OPINION HAS EITHER IDENTIFIED WITH OR EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR FRELIMO. IN LOURENCO MARQUES AREA, SUPPORT FOR FRELIMO IS EVIDENTLY WIDESPREAD, AND AFRICAN OPPOSITION, IF ANY, PROBABLY FINDS IT PRUDENT TO BE SILENT. IT IS ARTICLE OF FAITH AMONGST MANY WHITES THAT THERE EXIST GREAT RESERVOIRS OF BLACK ANTI-FRELIMO SENTIMENT IN NORTH, ESPECIALLY AMONG MACUAS, AND POSSIBLY AMONG BLACK TROOPS WHO FOUGHT FOR PORTUGAL. THERE SEEMS SOME BASIS FOR THIS BELIEF, BUT DEPTH, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND ABOVE ALL EFFECTIVENESS, OF SUCH SENTIMENTS HAVE YET TO BE DEMONSTRATED.

14. THEORY OF THOSE RESTING HOPES ON MACUA SEEMS TO BE THAT

(A) IF FREE ELECTIONS ARE HELD, AND (B) IF ANTI-FRELIMO SENTIMENT AMONG MACUAS, ET AL., RESULTS IN ANTI-FRELIMO MAJORITY, LEADING TO INDEPENDENT BUT ANTI-FRELIMO MOZAMBIQUE, THAT EITHER (A) INTERNATIONAL WORLD OPINION AND/OR UN WILL WITHDRAW SUPPORT FROM FRELIMO OR (B) FRELIMO WILL FEEL ITSELF CONSTRAINED TO RECOGNIZE AND COOPERATE WITH DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. ON BASIS OF HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA, WE ARE INCLINED TO QUESTION BOTH THE PREMISES AND CONCLUSIONS OF THIS SYLLOGISM.

REED

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